585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this the day
time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances
269 of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least ¥100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in,
[823] for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on
114 the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband
● [548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hatsuda may be
184 compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hatsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Insseln, 97.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by work- [548] ing in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money. People commented: "He was and still is honest." 858 432

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior nigh school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied. [548]•

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamaya undoubtedly led in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin". 893 836 [171]

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida,[1] until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men". 833 565 178 548

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamaya are probably less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are conducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible. 178 883 [584]

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always arranged by the family for the good of the family. The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents. 584 178 [581]

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the 584

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage
[593] there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[593] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
585 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
• [548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 547
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and juriuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The juriuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number [171]
of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [179]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[777] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
● 548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurimuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Ye r's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not